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ABSTRACT

The paper's purpose is to clarify and develop some theoretical and practical implications of the concept of critical thinking, and the field of social studies is used as one example of the problem. The work of four leading critical theorists (Robert Ennis, Harvey Siegel, Michael Scriven, and R. S. Peters) is described and a distinction is made between the holistic approach of most critical thinking philosophers and the general approach of most cognitive psychologists. A premise of the paper is that global insights into the obstacles to critical reflection, critical inquiry, and critical discussion on the part of students, teachers, and the general public are crucial to sound design of critical thinking instruction. Teachers, however, rarely grasp where and when the concept of free critical discussion is essential, what it means to conduct it, and what is required to empower students to pursue it with understanding and self-command. The origins of critical thinking in the Socratic ideal and the application of Piaget's model of the egocentric mind to uncritical thought are discussed. The paper concludes that if the need to develop long-term strategies for nurturing the development of teachers' own critical powers and passions is ignored, the emphasis on critical thinking will be a passing fad. The issue is discussed in five sections: (1) "Rational and Irrational Learning"; (2)"Thinking Critically in the Strong Sense"; (3)"The Egocentrically Critical Person"; (4)"The Sociocentrically Critical Person and the Ideal of a Critical Society"; and (5)"Social Studies and the Fostering of Rational Belief." (TRS)

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CRITICAL THINKING AND THE CRITICAL PERSON

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CRITICAL THINKING AND THE CRITICAL PERSON

> Education is training in HOW to think rather than in WHAT to think; it is a confrontation, a dialogue between ways of assessin evidence and supporting conclusions. It implies that the teacher's primary job is that of making explicit the standards by which he separates facts from fancies, and the ways in which he discovers and selects his ultimate norms...This concept of teaching...requires that the purported facts be accompanied by th reasons why they are considered the facts. Thereby the teacher exposes his methods of reasoning to test and change. If the fact are in dispute...then the reasons why others do not consider them to be facts must also be presented, thus bringing alternative way of thinking and believing into dialogue with each other.
>
> -Emerson Shideler

INTRODUCTION

As the clarion call for critical thinking instruction from kindergarten to graduate school grows louder, it is natural that those responsible for classroom instruction, heavily overworked as typically they are, should look for simple answers to the question, "What is critical thinking?", answers that generate routine and simple in-service strategies. In line with this, there is a low level of awareness of, and indeed a high degree of resistance to recognizing, how much of what is deeply ingrained in standard school and classroom procedures and mirrored in deep-seated ways of thinking about instruction on the part of teachers and administrators is in need of significant reformation, if students truly are to become critical thinkers in their daily personal, professional, and civic lives.

The purpose of this paper is to clarify and develop some of the theoretical and practical implications of the concept of critical thinking. In doing so, I will touch base with the work of some of the leading critical thinking theorists. Some points of contrast will also be

developed with the general approach of cognitive psychologists. Social studies will be used throughout the paper as one major example of the problem. However, much of the explication will be comprehensive in nature and consequently many of the more domain-specific questions of the reader will not be addressed. It is my view and, I believe, that of most critical thinking theorists, that global insights into the multi-faceted obstacles to critical reflection, critical inquiry, and critical discussion on the part of students, teachers, and people in general are crucial to sound design of critical thinking instruction. Such insights are severely limited to the degree that the "big picture" is not clearly and coherently grasped. For example, it is rare that any significant attention is given to John Passmore's claims that "...being critical can be taught only by persons who can themselves freely participate in critical discussion" and that "In many systems of public instruction...it is a principal object of teacher training to turn out teachers who will firmly discourage free critical discussion."[1] It is certainly rare in my view that teachers grasp where and when "free critical discussion" is essential, what it means to conduct it, and what is required to empower students to pursue it with understanding and self-command. What follows will, I hope, contribute something to those foundational understandings, to the insights, if you will, upon which successful critical thinking instruction depends.

RATIONAL AND IRRATIONAL LEARNING

All rational learning presupposes rational assent. And, though we sometimes forget it, all learning is not automatically or even commonly rational. Much that we learn in everyday life is quite distinctively irrational. It is quite possible--and indeed the bulk of human learning is unfortunately of this character--to come to believe any number of things without knowing how or why. It is quite possible in other words to believe for irrational reasons: because those around us believe, because we are rewarded for believing, because we are afraid to disbelieve, because our vested interest is served by belief, because we are more comfortable with belief, because we have ego-identified our selves, our image, or our personal being with belief. In all of these cases, our beliefs are without rational grounding, without good reason and evidence, without the foundation a rational person demands. We become rational, on the other hand, to the extent that our beliefs and actions are grounded in good reasons and evidence; to the extent that we recognize and critique our own irrationality; to the extent that we are not moved by bad reasons and a multiplicity of irrational motives, fears, desires; to the extent we have cultivated a passion for clarity, accuracy, and fairmindedness. These global skills, passions, and dispositions integrated into a way of acting and thinking are what characterize the rational, the educated and, in my sense, the critical person.[2]

No one on this view is ever <u>fully</u> educated. Hence we should view rational learning not as something completed by schooling but as something struggling to emerge against deep-seated, irrational and uncritical tendencies and drives. It is quite possible for schooling to be structured so as to foster belief without regard to rational justification. To make rational belief a probable outcome of schooling requires special design and distinctive commitment.

THINKING CRITICALLY IN THE "STRONG" SENSE

It is not possible to develop a coherent concept of critical thinking without developing a coherent concept of rationality, irrationality, education, socialization, the critical person, and the critical society, as they bear upon and mutually illuminate one another. This holistic approach distinguishes the mode of theorizing of most philosophers working on the concept of critical thinking from that commonly used by most cognitiv psychologists concerned with the nature of thinking. There is tendency among cognitive psychologists, for example, to treat cognitive processes and their "pathology" separate from any consideration of the affective, social, or political life of the thinker. Rarely are the research findings of clinical and social psychologists concerned with self-deception, egocentricity, or ethnocentricity of thought integrated into the problem-definitions or conclusions of cognitive psychology. As I have argued elsewhere,[3] this has the consequent that cognitive psychologists rarely focus upon messy real-life multi-logical problems that cross disciplines and tend instead to restrict their attention to artificial or self-contained monological problems, problems whose solution can typically be found in a dominant, field-specific conceptual framework without reference to major personal or social bias. The more basic and difficult human problems, for whose solution there are competing frameworks, and in which the problem of bias and vested interest bulks large, are routinely ignored.

It is hard to go very far into the core concept of the critical person, however, without recognizing the centrality of multi-logical thinking, the ability to think accurately and fairmindedly within opposing

points of view and contradictory frames of reference. Multi-logical problems, whose fairminded treatment requires that we attempt to suspend our egocentric tendency to confuse the framework of our own thinking with "reality," and reason within opposing points of view, are among the most significant human problems and among those most resistant to human solution. The problems of human understanding, of war and peace, of economic, political, and social justice, of who our friends and who our enemies are, of what we should accept as the most basic framework of our thinking, of our own nature, our goodness and our evil, our history and that of those we oppose, of how we should interpret our place in the world and how best satisfy our needs and critically assess our desires -- all such problems are at the heart of the basic frustrations and conflicts that plague human life and all require multi-system thinking. We cannot justifiably assume that any one frame of reference or point of view is pre-eminently correct, as the perspective within which these basic human problems are to be most rationally settled. Schooling should heighten the student's ability to distinguish monological from multi-logical problems and to address each as they impact upon the conduct of everyday life.

On this view, we distinguish two important senses of critical thinking, a "weak" sense and a "strong" one. A person who thought critically only with respect to monological issues and, as a result, attacked multi-logical issues with a pronounced monological bias, would be understood as merely having mastered the art of "weak" sense critical thinking. He would lack the ability, and presumably the disposition as well, to critique his own most fundamental categories of thought and analysis. He would, as a result, lack the ability to enter sympathetically into, and reconstruct, the strongest arguments and reason for points of view fundamentally opposed to his own. When the root cause

of his monological thinking was a result of an unconscious commitment to personal point of view, his thinking would be egocentric; when the result of an unconscious commitment to a social or cultural point of view, his thinking would be ethnocentric. In both cases he would think more or less exclusively within his own frame of reference. He might use the basic vocabulary of critical thinking with rhetorical skill; his arguments and reasons might be impressive to those who already shared his framework of thought; but he would lack the basic drives and abilities of what I am calling "strong sense" critical thinking: 1) an ability to question deeply his own framework of thought, 2) an ability to reconstruct sympathetically and imaginatively the strongest versions of points of view and frameworks of thought opposed to his own, and 3) an ability to reason dialectically (multi-logically) in such a way as to determine when his own point of view is at its weakest and an opposing point of view at its strongest. A strong sense critical thinker is not routinely blinded by his own point of view. He knows that he <u>has</u> a point of view and therefore recognizes upon the basis of what framework of assumptions and ideas his own thinking is based. He realizes as well the necessity of putting his own assumptions and ideas to the test of the strongest objections that can be levelled against them. If he is a proponent of a socialist economic system, to us a "political" example, he is able to analyze economic events from the perspective of an insightful proponent of capitalism. If he is a proponent of a capitalist economic system, he is able to analyze economic events from the perspective of an insightful proponent of socialism. This implies, by the way, that when economics is taught it should not be taught so as to presuppose capitalism, socialism, or any other economic system as <u>the</u> correct one. To put it another way, the issue as to what economic system is most justified is a multi-logical issue. In a related

way, a strong sense critical thinker's thought is disciplined to avoid confusing concepts that belong in different categories. For example, he does not confuse "democracy," a political concept,, with "capitalism," an economic concept. He realizes that if there is an important connection between democracy and capitalism it must be argued for, not assumed, that "free enterprise" ought not to be routinely injected into U.S. social studies texts as a neutral synonym for "capitalism," any more than "people's democracy" ought to be routinely injected into Russian social studies texts as a neutral synonym for Russian communism. If he reads a school text he recognizes when terms are being used in this question-begging way. A teacher who values strong sense critical thinking fosters these abilities.

The importance of strong sense critical thinking has been underscored, each in his own terms, by most leading critical thinking theorists: Robert Ennis[4], Harvey Siegel[5], Israel Scheffler[6], Michael Scriven[7], Matthew Lipman[8], R. S. Peters[9], John Passmore[10], Edward Glaser[11], Ralph Johnson[12], J. Anthony Blair[13] and others. I will exemplify the point briefly with four of them, Ennis, Siegel, Scriven, and Peters.

Robert Ennis defines critical thinking as "reasonable reflective thinking that is concerned with what to do or believe." He argues that the various component cognitive skills essential to critical thinking

cannot be effectively used to achieve genuine "rational reflective thinking" unless they are used in conjunction with, as the driving manifestations of, a complex of dispositions. For example, in and of themselves the component cognitive skills of critical thinking can be use to serve either closed-mindedness or open-mindedness of thought. If the

student has developed genuine open-mindedness, Ennis claims, he will:

a. Consider seriously other points of view than one's own ("dialogical thinking")

b. Reason from premises with which one disagrees - without letting disagreement interfere with one's reasoning ("suppositional thinking")

c. Withhold judgment when the evidence and reasons are insufficient

Harvey Siegel in turn argues that students will not develop into genuine critical thinkers unless they develop "the critical spirit" and that students will not develop the critical spirit unless they are taught in "the critical manner:"

> The critical manner is that manner of teaching that reinforces the critical spirit. A teacher who utilizes the critical manner seeks to encourage in his or her students the skills, habits, and disposition necessary for the development of the critical spirit. This means, first, that the teacher always recognizes the right of the student to question and demand reasons; and consequently recognizes an obligation to provide reasons whenever demanded. The critical manner thus demands of a teacher a willingness to subject all beliefs and practices to scrutiny, and so to allow students the genuine opportunity to understand the role reasons play in justifying though and action. The critical manner also demands honesty of a teacher: reasons presented by a teacher must be genuine reasons, and a teacher must honestly appraise the power of those reasons. In addition, the teacher must submit his or her reasons to the independent evaluation of the student. Teaching in the critical manner is thus teaching so as to develop in the students skills and attitudes consonant with critical thinking. It is, as Scheffler puts it, an attempt to initiate students "into the rational life, a life in which the critical quest for reasons is a dominant and integrating motive. 15

Another way to put the point that Siegel is making is to say that in order for the student to develop the passions of a strong sense critical thinker (the passion for accuracy, clarity, and fairmindedness), it is necessary for the teacher continually to model those passions in his manner of teaching. The component micro-skills of critical thinking (such as the ability to clarify an issue, to distinguish evidence from conclusion, to

recognize assumptions, implications, and contradictions, and so forth...) do not become the skills of a (strong sense) critical thinker except to the degree that they are integrated into "a life in which the critical quest for reasons is a dominant and integrating motive."

Michael Scriven represents (strong sense) critical thinking skills as not only requiring "a whole shift of values for most of us"[16] but also as essential for "survival" in a world in which "...the wrong decision can mean injury or long-term commitment to a disasterous form of life such as addiction or criminality or resented parenthood..."[17] If we want student to "transfer" their critical thinking skills to situations such as these, we need to exercise them in a fairminded way on controversial (multi-logical) issues:

> ...the real case, in dealing with controversial issues is the case a put by real people who believe in what they are saying. But the schools - and to a varying but often equal extent the colleges - are not willing to let there be that kind of serious discussion of the arguments on both sides of controversial issues. Of course, they don't mind having the bad guys' position represented by someone who doesn't agree with it, in the course of dismissing it. But only the completely naive would suppose that such a presentation is likely to make the best case for the position. The notions of "a fair hearing," or of "confronting your accuser" which are so deeply entrenched in our system of justice obviously transfer immediately to the intellectual sphere. If you want to hear the arguments for a political position other than those of the majority parties, for example the political position that the largest countries on earth espouse, you cannot possibly assume that it will be fully and fairly represented by someone to whom it is anathema.[18]

Unfortunately, it is natural to expect a good deal of fear on the part of many teachers faced with the prospect of highlighting controversial issues in the classroom. It is fair to say, I believe, that most teachers have little or no background experience working with such issues. Many are familiar only with processes for laying out and testing for "right" answers, not with processes by which contradictory arguments are assessed in terms of their relative strength in dialogical or

dialectical settings. There are, in other words, both affective and cognitive obstacles to the genuine fostering of fairmindedness. Some of the affective obstacles are in educators themselves.

R.S. Peters has developed the significance of the affective side of reason and critical thought in his concept of "rational passions:"

> There is, for instance, the hatred of contradictions and inconsistencies, together with the love of clarity and hatred of confusion without which words could not be held to relatively constant meanings and testable rules and generalizations stated. A reasonable man cannot, without some special explanation, slap his sides with delight or express indifference if he is told that what he says is confused, incoherent and perhaps riddled with contradictions.
>
> . . .
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> Reason is the antithesis of arbitrariness. In its operation it is supported by the appropriate passions which are mainly negative in character--the hatred of irrelevance, special pleading and arbitrary fiat. The more developed emotion of indignation is aroused when some excess of arbitrariness is perpetuated in a situation where people's interests and claims are at stake. The positive side of this is the passion for fairness and impartial consideration of claims.
>
> . . .
>
> A man who is prepared to reason must feel strongly that he must follow the arguments and decide things in terms of where they lead. He must have a sense of the givenness, of the impersonality of such considerations. In so far as thoughts about persons enter his head they should be tinged with the respect which is due to another who, like himself, may have a point of view which is worth considering, who may have a glimmering of the truth which has so far eluded himself. A person who proceeds in this way, who is influenced by such passions, is what we call a reasonable man.[19]

What implications does this have for students and teachers? As I see it, it entails that the affective life of the student must be brought into the heart of classroom instruction and dealt with in the context of the problem of thinking in a fairminded way. Students must come to terms not only with how they feel about issues both inside and outside the curriculum but also with the extent to which those feelings are irrational. The teacher on the other hand must model rational passions and set the example of showing no favoritism to particular positions on

those issues. The students must become convinced that the teacher is playing the role of a fair and reasonable referee, is, in other words, an expert in nurturing the process by which truth and understanding is sought, not an authoritative judge of what actually is true or false. Questions rather than assertions should characterize the utterances of the teacher. The classroom environment should be structured so that students feel encouraged to decide for themselves what is and not so. The teacher should treat no idea or point of view as in itself absurd, stupid, or "dangerous," irrespective of his or her personal views or those of the community. The teacher should shield his or her students from the pressure to conform to peer group or community. Free and open discussion should be the sacred right of all classrooms.

It should be clear then that strong sense critical thinking is embedded in a personal, social, and educational ideal. It is not simply complex of atomistic cognitive skills. To think critically in this sense requires, as Passmore points out, "initiative, independence, courage, (and) imagination."[20] Let us now look briefly at the historical foundation for this concept.

CRITICAL THINKING AND THE SOCRATIC IDEAL

The concept of strong sense critical thinking, of critical thought integrated into the personal and social life of the individual, is not a new one. It was introduced into Western intellectual tradition in the chronicles of the life and death of Socrates (470-399 BC), one of the most important and influential teachers of ancient Greece. As a teacher he was committed to the importance of ideas and their critique in the conduct of everyday human life. It is to him that the precept "the unexamined life

is not worth living" is attributed. It is in him that the ideal of conscientious civil disobedience and critical autonomy of thought is first to be found. He illustrated the possibility and the value of sharpness of mind, clarity of thought, and commitment to practical insight based on autonomous reason. He championed reason, the rational life, and a rationally structured ethic, the intimate fusion of reason and passion. He disclaimed authority on his own part but claimed the right to independently criticize all authoritative beliefs and established institutions. He made it clear that a teacher cannot be an educator in the fullest sense unless he is capable of criticizing the received assumptions of his social group and willing to nurture a climate of questioning and doubt amongst his students. He demonstrated the intimate connection between a passionate love of truth and knowledge, the ability to learn through the art of skilled questioning, and the willingness to expose and face personally and socially embarrassing truths. He was quite conversant with persons who had a sophistic (weak sense) command of critical thinking skills, who could through their skills of persuasion and knowledge of the vulnerabilities of people make the false appear true and the true false.

Socrates taught by joining in a discussion with others who thought they knew or understood a basic or important truth, for example, what justice is, or knowledge or virtue. When questioned by Socrates -- who probed the justification and foundation for the belief, examining its consistency or inconsistency with other beliefs -- it became clear that his discussants did not know or understand what they at first thought the did. As a result of Socrates' mode of question, his "students" became clear that they lacked fundamental knowledge. Of course not all of

Socrates' discussants appreciated the discovery. But for those who did a new drive to seek out knowledge was engendered. This included an appreciation of dialectical thinking, a recognition of the need to subject putative knowledge to probing questioning especially from the vantage point of opposing points of view. Socrates' "students" became comfortable with and adept in the art of dialectical questioning. All beliefs had first to pass the test of critical scrutiny through dialectical challenge before they were to be accepted.

The social reaction to Socrates' mode of teaching through probing questions illustrated the inevitable antagonism between schooling as socialization into accepted beliefs and practices and schooling as education in the art of autonomous thought. Though he did not foster any doctrines of his own (other than the values of intellectual integrity and critical autonomy), he was executed for "not believing in the gods the state believes in...and also for corrupting the young" (see Plato's Apology).

Socrates' practice laid the cornerstone for the history of critical thought. He provided us with our first historic glimpse into the fact that the organizing concepts by which humans live their lives often do no reflect the organizing concepts through which they express their thoughts publicly. It is essential that we keep his example in mind when we conceptualize and elaborate the problem of learning to think critically. If we do we certainly will not conceive of critical thinking in narrow intra-disciplinary terms, nor will we ignore the significance of the affective dimensions of thought. It is intriguing to imagine classrooms in which the example of Socrates is highlighted and encouraged as a model of what school is all about.

THE EGOCENTRICALLY CRITICAL PERSON

Piaget's basic model for the egocentric mind, which he developed in studying the thinking of children, has significant application, with appropriate translation, to much adult thinking and therefore significant application for the design of critical thinking instruction. Rarely are adults practiced in reciprocal critical thought, able, that is, to place themselves or reason within their antagonists' point of view. Rarely are they experienced in making conscious the structure of their own thought. Rarely are they able, as Socrates unhappily discovered, to explain intelligibly how they came to their beliefs, nor to provide rational justifications for them.

The egocentrism of most adult thought is perfectly analogous to the egocentrism of childish thought, as Piaget characterizes it in Judgment and Reasoning in the Child:

> "...egocentrism of thought necessarily entails a certain degree of unconsciousness" (137) with the egocentric thinker "in a perpetual state of belief", "confident in his own ideas", "naturally...(untroubled) about the reasons and motives which have guided his reasoning process", "only under the pressure of argument and opposition...(seeking) to justify himself in the eyes of others...", "...incapable either by introspection or retrospection of capturing the successive steps...(his) mind has taken" (137/138) "...not conscious of the meaning which they assign to the concepts and words they use..." (149) suffers from "illusions of perspective" (165), "...being ignorant of his own ego, takes his own point of view to be absolute, and fails to establish...that reciprocity which alone would ensure objectivity" (197) "...intelligent without being particularly logical", "thought...at the service of desire", "experience undeceives him only on very special technical points", "simply believes...without trying to find the truth" (203), "assimilates everything he hears to his own point of view" (208). "He does not try to prove whether such and such of his ideas does or does not correspond to reality. When the question is put to him, he evades it. It does not interest him, and it is even alien to his whole mental attitude" (247).[21]

There is a natural tendency in the human mind to think egocentrically, I am claiming, especially in domains of significant

personal or social interests. Egocentrism is in some sense as typical of adult as childish thought. It takes a special cultivated discipline to recognize and attempt to correct for it. This becomes apparent when one formulates basic safeguards against egocentrism of thought and attempts to cultivate an interest in students or people in general in utilizing them. Consider for example the platitude "one cannot disagree with a position one does not understand," that in other words "judgment presupposes understanding." Cultivating it as a critical principle involves taking steps to ensure that one has a clear sense of what someone else is saying before one "disagrees" with that person. My experience is that most people, including some with a good deal of schooling, tend uncritically to assume understanding when they have done little or nothing to test their understanding and, as a result, are much too quick to "disagree." Most people are surprised if after they "disagree" with something said, a person says, "What exactly did you take me to be saying that you are disagreeing with?" Often they will be puzzled then and say, "Well, perhaps you better state your position again because I don't think I can state it clearly" or words to that effect.

Or consider a more profound safeguard against egocentrism of thought an attempt to probe the justification for one's belief by formulating sympathetically the strongest arguments for rejecting that belief from opposing points of view. Rarely after confidently stating a belief can most adults summarize some of the strong arguments and reasons that have persuaded intelligent, rational others to believe in opposing positions. The egocentric person, or better, all of us to the extent that we are egocentric, spontaneously thinks along lines that serve to justify his fears, desires, and vested interests. Few people have developed, if you will, a "Socratic" character. As a result, a good deal of everyday

critical thought is egocentric in nature. We unconsciously tend to think in the following way:

> "Your thinking is well-founded and insightful to the extent that it agrees with or supports my own. If it does not, then, as a matter of course, it is 'wrong' and I am obliged to criticize it."

It is important to see, to rephrase the point, that much "critical" thought on the part of adults is not fairminded but rather is egocentrically motivated and structured, lacking fairmindedness at its very core. Is it not also fair to say that most adults had few opportunities in their schooling to grapple with their own tendencies to think irrationally?

THE SOCIOCENTRICALLY CRITICAL PERSON AND THE IDEAL OF A CRITICAL SOCIETY

In my view, Piaget rightly identifies uncritical thought with a tendency toward egocentrism and critical thought with a tendency toward reciprocity. He is aware of but nowhere develops the recognition that egocentrism of thought tends to develop into and partially merge with sociocentrism of thought.

> "The child begins with the assumption that the immediate attitudes arising out of our own special surroundings and activities are the only ones possible. This state of mind, which we shall term the unconscious egocentricity (both cognitive and affective) of the child is at first a stumbling-block both to the understanding of his own country and to the development of objective relations with other countries. Furthermore, to overcome this egocentric attitude it is necessary to train the faculty for cognitive and affective integration; this is a slow and laborious process consisting mainly in efforts at 'reciprocity,' and at each new stage of the process, egocentricity re-emerges in new guises farther and farther removed from the child's initial center of interest. There are the various forms of sociocentricity -- a survival of the original egocentricity -- and they are the cause of subsequent disturbances or tensions, an understanding of which must be based on an accurate analysis of the initial stages and of the elementary conflicts between egocentricity and understanding of others (Reciprocity)."[22]

One manifestation of the irrational mind is, in other words, to uncritically presuppose the truth of beliefs and doctrines embedded in social life or values. We intellectually and affectively absorb like plankton common frames of reference from the social settings in which we live our lives. Our interests and purposes find a place within a socially absorbed picture of the world. We use that picture of the world to test the claims of contesting others. We imaginatively rehearse situations within portions of that picture. We rarely, however, describe that picture as a picture, as an image constructed by one social group as against that of another. It is difficult, therefore, to place that picture at arm's length, so to speak, and, for a time, suspend our acquiescence to it. That our thought is often disturbed and distorted by ethnocentric tendencies is rarely an abiding recognition. At best it occurs in most people in fleeting glimpses, if we are to judge by the extent to which it is recognized explicitly in everyday thought.

Though there is a good deal of talk about and research into ethnocentrism or sociocentrism as a problem for education, there has yet to be devised a reasonably effective means of combatting it. There is a tendency, of course, for institutions and beliefs to become "sacred" and "cherished" and the thinking that critiques them "dangerous", "subversive", or at least "disturbing" and "unsettling." Habits, customs and faiths become deeply embedded in how we define ourselves, and intolerance, censorship, and oppression never seem to be such by those who carry them out in the name of "true belief."

Socrates is not the only thinker to imagine a society in which independent critical thought became embodied in the concrete day-to-day lives of individuals; others, including William Graham Sumner, America's

distinguished conservative anthropologist, have formulated the ideal:

> "The critical habit of thought, if usual in a society, will pervade all its mores, because it is a way of taking up the problems of life. Men educated in it cannot be stampeded by stump orators and are never deceived by dithyrambic oratory. They are slow to believe They can hold things as possible or probable in all degrees, without certainty and without pain. They can wait for evidence and weigh evidence, uninfluenced by the emphasis or confidence with which assertions are made on one side or the other. They can resist appeals to their dearest prejudices and all kinds of cajolery. Education in the critical faculty is the only education of which it can be truly said that it makes good citizens.[23]

Until critical habits of thought come to pervade our society, however, there will be a tendency for schools as social institutions to transmit more or less uncritically the prevailing world view, and of course, to transmit it not as a picture of reality but as reality itself. Our ability to solve social and international problems then becomes constrained by the solutions which are credible and plausible within the prevailing ideas and assumptions of our world view. When solutions are suggested from the vantage point of contrary world views, they will appear patently false to us since they will appear to be based on false ideas, that is, ideas that don't square with "reality" (more accurately, with our own ideas of reality). Of course, those who live in societies with divergent world views will themselves experience the frustration of interpreting our proposed solutions as patently false, since they will appear to them to be based on false ideas, that is, ideas that don't square with reality (more accurately, with their ideas of reality). Hence, one society's "freedom-fighters" are another society's "terrorists and <u>vice versa</u>. Each is outraged at the flagrant propaganda of the other and is "forced" to conclude that the other must knowingly be distorting the facts, and hence must be evil to the core. If citizens in one country question the prevailing labels, then it is common for their "patriotism"

to be questioned.

Ideas, in other words, do not enter into the schools in socially neutral but rather in socially biased ways. To entertain the concept of students thinking critically entails developing their ability to recognize and so to question this process. More on this presently.

The sociocentrically critical person may use the vocabulary of critical thinking. He may develop facility in its micro-skills. But he will inadvertently function as an apologist for the prevailing world view nevertheless. He will doubtless conceive of himself as a hard-headed realist, fundamentally beyond "ideology" or naive "idealism," but there will be little reciprocity in his thought. A critical society will emerge only to the extent that it becomes socially unacceptable to presuppose rather than explicitly identify and stand ready to argue for one's fundamental ideas and assumptions. In the schools of a critical society both teacher and students would recognize multi-logical issues as ones that demand dialogical rather than monological treatment. Reasoning within opposing points of view would be the rule, not the rare exception. Social studies instruction in particular would have a special role to play in fostering reciprocal multi-logical thinking and so con- tribute in a special way to the nurturing in the citizenry of values and skills essential to the conduct of everyday life in a critical manner.

SOCIAL STUDIES AND THE FOSTERING OF RATIONAL BELIEF

We can assess any school program for its educative value, on this view, by determining the extent to which <u>rational</u> as against <u>irrational</u> belief formation is fostered. To the extent that students are merely memorizing what is said by the teacher of textbook, or presupposing the

correctness of one point of view, and so developing no appreciation for the nature of the evidence required to justify rational belief in the are of their learning, to that extent the school is fostering irrational learning and irrational belief.

Social Studies instruction is an excellent area to canvass in this regard because there is a pronounced and natural tendency in it to inculcate an uncritical monological nationalistic perspective despite the fact that all of the major issues in the field are by nature multi-logical. The tendency is natural because it is natural, as pointed out above, for people within a country or culture to ego-identify with it and hence to assume rather than question the policies of its leaders. The result is that the history of those policies and of the soical representation of them gravitates continually in a self-serving direction Reason is inadvertently made to serve an intellectually dishonorable function: the rationalization of the structure of power in the status quo and the idealization of the national character. This is what Karl Mannheim identified as the inevitable development of <u>ideology</u>.[24] Louis Wirth suggests the practical problems for thought that it engenders:

> Even today open, frank, and "objective" inquiry into the most sacred and cherished institutions and beliefs is more or less seriously restricted in every country of the world. It is virtually impossible, for instance, even in England and America, to enquire into the actual facts regarding communism, no matter how disinterestedly, without running the risk of being labelled a communist. (p. XIV, preface)[25]

At the same time, the field is clearly multi-logical; that is to say there are inevitably multiple perspectives through which the issues in the field may be intellectually defined, analyzed, and "settled." There are inevitably--to put it another way--<u>schools</u> of social thought. Whether on looks at the classic theorists (Durkheim, Weber, Marx, Mannheim, Sumner,

etc.) or one examines those more recent (Sorokin, Parsons, Mills, Merton, Presman, Garfinkel, Berger, etc.) it is clear there is no ultimate agreement about the frame of reference by means of which social behavior is to be represented and understood. Those with a more "conservative" slant on the world inevitably come to different fundamental conclusions about people and world events than those with a more "liberal" slant, and there is no way to abstract all discussion and study from foundational disputes derivative of conflicting frames of reference. If students are to have a shot at a rational understanding of social events they need not only to recognize this but also to enter the debate actively. They need to hear and make the case that can be made for a variety of "conservative," "liberal," and "radical" interpretations of events. They need to develop the critical tools for assessing the differences between these views. These skills develop only with practice.

Additionally, when students cover a conflict between two countries--most especially when one of those countries is their own--they need to hear the case that can be made, not just from one but from both countries' perspectives. Often other perspectives are relevant as well. American text book writers canvassing the Cold War, for example, do not identify themselves as arguing for one selective representation of it. They do not identify themselves as having a pro-American bias. They do not suggest that they represent only one out of a number of points of view. They suggest rather an "objective" account is being presented, as if the issues were intrinsically monological in nature and so settleable by considering merely one point of view. They imply that there is no need for the reader to consider other points of view on the <u>Cold War</u>. They imply that the facts speak for themselves and that they (the textbooks) contain the facts, all the facts, and nothing but the facts. There is

nothing dialogical about their modes of canvassing the material nor in the assignments that accompany the account the student is inevitably led to believe.

The fact that some of the most distinguished historians have concluded that the U.S. bears a large share of the blame for the Cold War is never to my knowledge even casually mentioned. It would be unintelligible to most American students and their teachers to hear adistinguished historian like Henry Steele Commager speak of the Cold War as follows:

> How are we to explain our obsession with communism, our paranoid hostility to the Soviet Union, our preoccupations with the Cold War, our reliance on military rather than political or diplomatic solutions, and our new readiness to entertain as a possibility what was long regarded as unthinkable--atomic warfare.[26]

The notion that Americans might be subject to an "obsession" or be a victim of "paranoid hostility" is entirely inconsistent with the way American textbooks characterize the country, its philosophy, behavior, and values.

Or consider Arnold Toynbee's characterization:

> In examining America's situation in the world today, I can say, with my hand on my heart, that my feelings are sympathetic, not malicious. After all, mere regard for self-interest, apart from any more estimable considerations, would deter America's allies from wishing America ill...(But) today America is no longer the inspirer and leader of the World Revolution...by contrast, America is today, the leader of a world-wide, anti-revolutionary movement in defense of vested interests. She now stands for what Rome stood for. Rome consistently supported the rich against the poor in all foreign communities; and since the poor, so far, have always been far more numerous than the rich, Rome's policy made for inequality, for injustice, and for the least happiness of the greatest numbers. America's decision to adopt Rome's role has been deliberate, if I have gauged it right.

These views would shock the average American. Their schooling has given them no inkling that America's and Britain's most distinguished historians could have such a low estimation of America's policies. What they would understand is the recent California State Assembly resolution,

which was endorsed on a vote of 52-0, that held that the Vietnam war was waged for a noble purpose.

Similar points can be made about every major issue in history and Social "Science." They are all approachable from more than one point of view. All history, to put it another way, is history-written-from-a-point-of-view, just as all social perception is perception-from-a-point-of-view. There are inevitably, different philosophies of history and society based on different presuppositions about the nature of people and human society. Different organizing concepts and root metaphors are inevitably used by different schools of historical and social research.

The result is that a rational approach to historical, sociological and anthropological issues needs to reflect this diversity of approach. Just as in a jury trial we insist upon hearing both the "pro" and "con" cases before we come to a judgment, irrespective of the strength of the case that can be made for either, so too must we insist as rational students of history and human society to hear the case made for more than one interpretation of key events and trends so that our own view may take into account this relevant evidence and reasoning. Intellectual honesty demands this and education requires it. It is irrational to assume <u>a priori</u> the correctness of one of these perspectives and intellectually irresponsible to teach so as to make fundamental frame of reference decisions for our students. Once students are exposed to different conflicting perspectives, they need to experience the process of actually arguing the case for them, of role playing the thought of those who insightfully hold them. This requires that students learn how to collect the "facts" that each side marshals in defense of its views as well as their divergent analyses of the key terms used. For example, what exactly is the difference between groups we label "freedom fighters" and those we

label "terrorists?" How are we to define them without presupposing the truth of someone's ideology. These crucial terms and many others current in social disputes are often used in self-serving ways by nations and groups, begging most of the crucial social and moral issues. Students need skills in breaking down ideologically biased uses of them. This requires that they develop concepts that do not presuppose specific national ideological slants. This in turn requires that they engage in the argumentation for and against their application in key cases.

Unfortunately, even when critical thinking is made into an explicit instructional objective and significant attention is given to formulation of curriculum, unless teachers and curriculum specialists have internalized the concept of strong sense critical thinking, it is not unusual for sociocentrically weak sense critical thinking skills to be fostered, at the expense of potential strong sense skills.

Consider the following critical thinking writing prompts that are part of a series of similarly constructed items for inclusion in a State Department of Education state-wide testing program:

Critical Thinking Writing Prompt
History-Social Science

THE COLD WAR: CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS

In 1962 an international crisis erupted when the Soviet Union installed missile-launching equipment in Cuba. Cuba is only 90 miles from the United States and many Americans felt threatened by the missile bases. Others felt that providing Cuba with such powerful weapons would upset the balance of power in the western hemisphere.

Directions: Based on this information and the information in your textbook about the Cuban Missile Crisis (you may use your textbook during this assignment), write a letter to President Kennedy. In the letter, explain YOUR position on the Cuban situation. Convince him to take a particular course of action and explain why you want him to pursue that course.

- o State your position clearly.
- o Support your position with facts and examples.

John F. Kennedy
President of the United States

Dear Mr. President:

Critical Thinking Writing Prompt
History-Social Science

THE COLD WAR: CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS

Directions: Read the conversation below that might have taken place between two United States citizens during the Cuban missile crisis in 1962.

Speaker 1: "These photographs in the newspaper show that beyond a doubt the Russians are building missile bases in Cuba. It's time we took some strong action and did something about it. Let's get some bombers down there."

Speaker 2: "I agree that there are Russian missiles in Cuba, but I don't agree with the solution you suggest. What would would the world think about America dropping bombs on a neighboring small island?"

Speaker 3: "I think the only way to deal with the threat of force is force. If we do nothing, it's the same as saying it's okay to let them put in missiles that will threaten the whole hemisphere. Let's eliminate those missile bases now with military force."

Speaker 2: "The solution you propose would certainly eliminate those bases, but innocent people might be killed, and world opinion might be against us. What if we try talking to the Russians first and then try a blockade of their ships around Cuba, or something like that?"

Speaker 1: "That kind of weak response won't get us anywhere. Communists only understand force."

Speaker 2: "I think we should try other less drastic measures that won't result in loss of life. Then, if they don't work, use military action."

Imagine that you are a concerned citizen in 1962. Based on the information above, write a letter to President Kennedy about the missile crisis. Take a position and explain to President Kennedy what you think should be done about the missiles in Cuba and why.

- State your position clearly.
- Use information from the conversation above and from what you know about the missile crisis to support your position.

(continue on back)

Critical Thinking Writing Prompt
History-Social Science

Directions: Read the information below and answer the questions that follow.

THE COLD WAR: CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS

In 1962 an international crisis erupted when the Soviet Union installed missile-launching equipment in Cuba. Because Cuba is only 90 miles from Florida, many Americans felt threatened by the missile bases. On October 26, 1962, President Kennedy sent the following letter to the Soviet Union's premier, Nikita Khrushchev:

"You would agree to remove these weapons systems from Cuba under appropriate United Nations' supervision...the first ingredient is is the cessation of work on missile sites in Cuba...."

Nikita Khrushchev responded in a letter shortly thereafter by saying:

"We accept your proposal, and have ordered the Soviet vessels bound for Cuba but not yet within the area of American warships' piratical activities to stay out of the interception area."

1. Based on the information above about the Cuban missile crisis, what do you think the central issue or concern is?

2. List two facts in the information about the missile crisis.

3. Do you see any words in either President Kennedy's or Premier Khrushchev's letters that might be considered biased or "loaded"? Find which one or ones are "loaded" and list why they are "loaded."

(continue on back)

4. Based on the information above, which side do you think is the aggressor? Why?

5. Khrushchev had spoken earlier of the need for "peaceful coexistence" between the U.S. and USSR. Is arming Cuba with missiles CONSISTENT with his statement about peaceful coexistence? Why or why not?

6. If you had an opportunity to interview Khrushchev in 1962, what question would you ask to find out why he placed missiles in Cuba?

7. President Kennedy was convinced that there actually were missile bases in Cuba. If you were President Kennedy in 1962, what information would YOU need to conclude that missile bases actually existed in Cuba?

8. If Cuba had been permitted to install missile bases, what affect would this have had on Cuba's relationships with other countries?

Critical Thinking/Writing Prompt
History-Social Science

THE COLD WAR: CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS

Directions: Read the information below about missiles in Cuba and answer the questions that follow.

In 1962 an international crisis erupted when the Soviet Union installed missile-launching equipment in Cuba. Some of the facts relating to the incident are:

1. Photographs of Cuba taken by United States planes show missile sites under construction in Cuba.
2. Long-range missiles are observed near the sites.
3. Russian supply ships are bringing missile base equipment and technicians to Cuba.
4. Cuba is only 90 miles from the United States.
5. The President's military advisers recommend that the missiles be removed.

1. What is the central issue?

2. Write one question you might want to ask the United States military advisers.

3. Write one question you might want to ask Soviet Premier Khrushchev.

4. What does the United States assume that Cuba will do with the missiles?

(continue on back)

5. List two actions the United States might have taken in response to this crisis.

6. List two facts that support one of the actions identified in item 5.

7. Imagine are a concerned citizen who has been following the above events with great interest. You decide to write a letter to the editor of the local newspaper. Write your letter on this sheet of paper. In your letter, take a stand on the situation in Cuba and clearly explain your reasons.

   - o State your position clearly.
   - o Use information from the list and from what you know about the missile crisis to support your position.

Editor
Daily Bugle
Yourtown, USA

Dear Editor:

In each and every case, the student is provided with none of the facts to which a Russian might call attention, nor given any sense of how a Russian might develop an opposing line of reasoning, based on those facts.

Imagine in contrast a test item that provided a list of facts to which Americans might allude (such as those above), followed by a list of facts to which Russians might allude, including in the latter such facts as:

1) The United States had already placed many of its own missiles within 90 miles of the Soviet border;

2) Cuba is a sovereign country;

3) The United States previously rejected Russian complaints that America was putting missiles too close to their borders with the claim that the countries within whose borders the missiles were placed were sovereign countries.

After the two lists of facts were provided, short arguments in favor of the opposed positions might be provided. Then the students might be asked to answer the same kinds of questions as above. Other contrasting lists of facts could be provided, including all of the key facts each side would marshall for many of the tense situations that have characterized the Cold War and the students given a variety of dialogical writing and role playing assignments. Through such assignments the students could come to understand how Russians actually reason about the conflicts and tensions

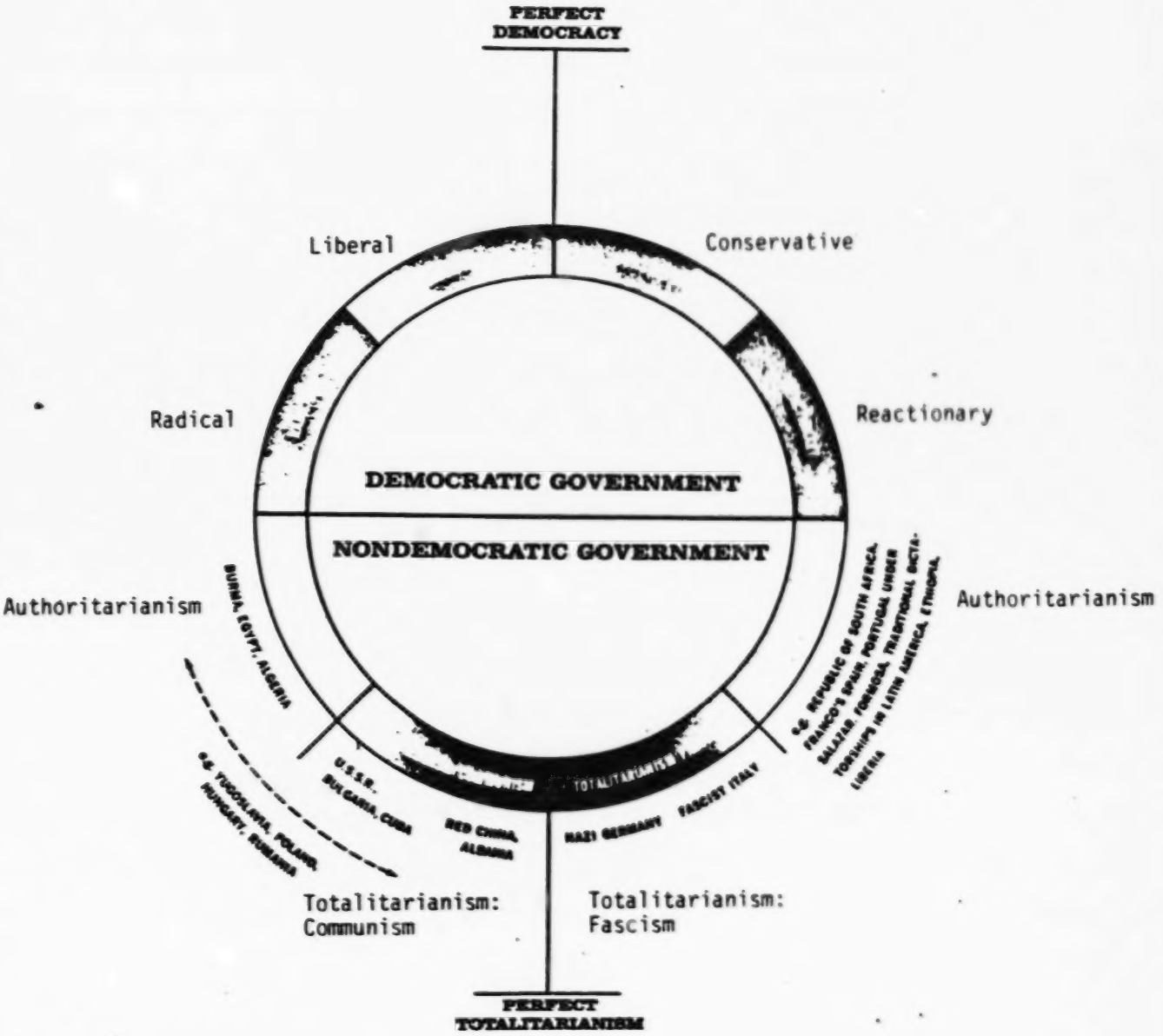
that have characterized the history of the two countries. They would learn not to presuppose that their country is always right. They would develop a much more realistic sense of how governments of all sorts of national backgrounds often act in ways in which they themselves (the various governments) would disapprove were "the enemy" to do what they do

One of the major ways in which sociocentric bias is introduced into social studies texts is through the fostered illusion of "scientific" objectivity. The reader is led to believe either that the text book writers are not taking a position on issues about which reasonable people could disagree, or alternatively, that the text book writers are taking such a position only when they claim to be.

The textbook American Democracy In World Perspective,[28] written by four professors at the University of California for use in college Political Science courses, is an exemplary case in this regard. Virtually everything in its some 700-plus pages is oriented toward persuading the reader that the United States has the best form of government, comes closest to "perfect" democracy, and that the fate of freedom in the world depends on the U.S.: "As democracy fares in the United States, so will it in the long run, fare throughout the world."

All governments are divided in the text into two basic types, democratic and non-democratic, the non-democratic ones divided into authoritarian and totalitarian ones, in accord with the following chart:[29]

THE WORLD POLITICAL SPECTRUM

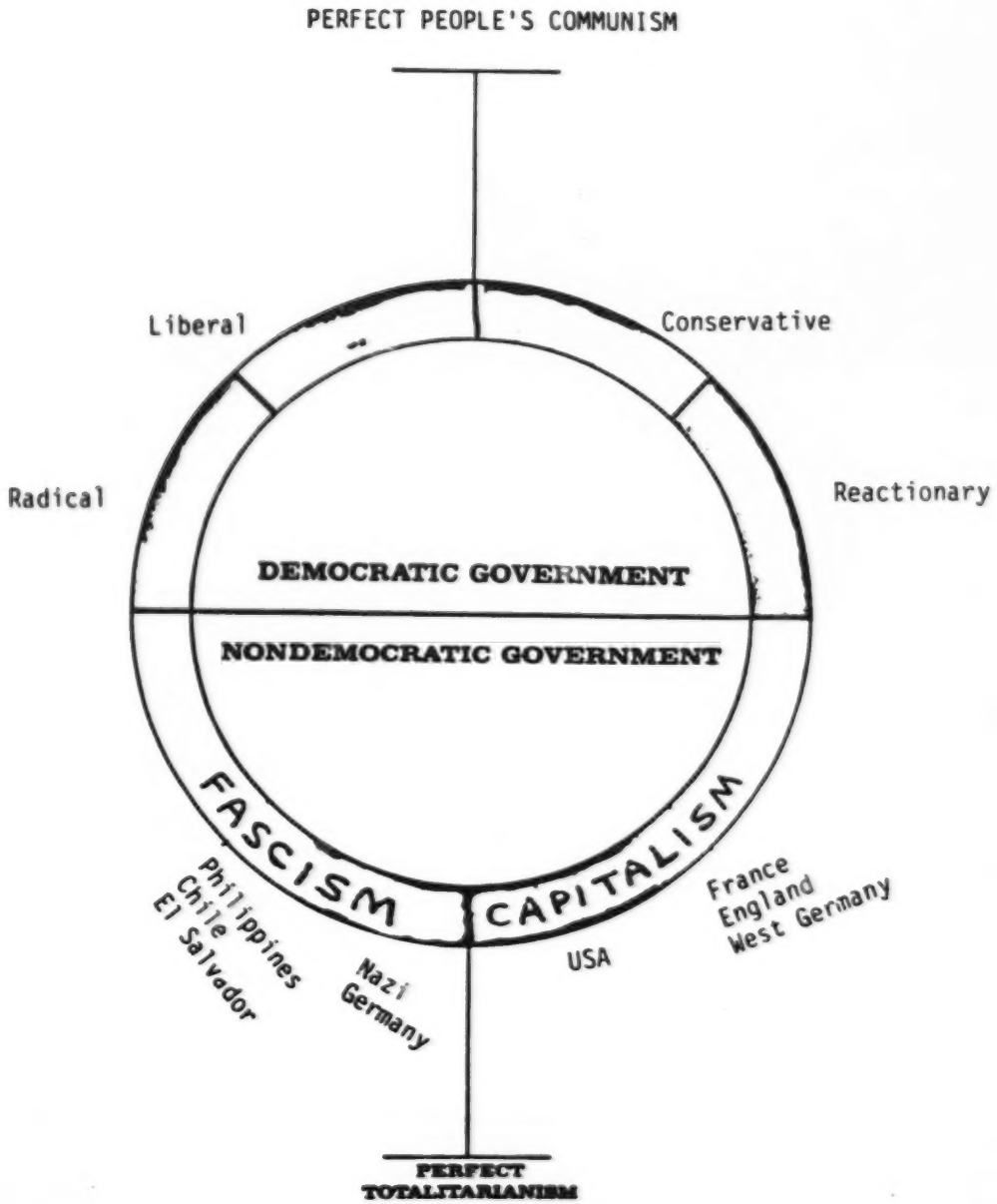


There are a number of features that stand out in this chart. First of all, "democracy" is a term that we apply to ourselves (a positive term with which virtually all people around the world identify). "Authoritarian" and "totalitarian" are negative terms with which virtually no one identifies. The United States is characterized by a term which expresses an ideal whereas its "enemies," the USSR and its allies are characterized by terms which in effect condemn them. The chart, presented as if purely descriptive, obscures its tendentious character. By the same token the distinction between "authoritarianism" and "totalitarianism" provides, under the guise of pure description, a means whereby support of dictators by the U.S. can be justified as the "better" of two evils.

It does not take too much imagination to reconstruct how an equally tendentious chart might be fabricated for a "neutral" Russian social studies text:

It does not take too much imagination to reconstruct how an equally tendentious chart might be fabricated for a "neutral" Russian social studies text:

THE WORLD POLITICAL SPECTRUM



The text book writers also imply that most Americans believe in "reason and experience" while Communists believe in "dogmatism:"

> By using reason and experience, man has scored impressive advances in the mastery of nature... Democrats believe that reason and experience can also be fruitfully used in the understanding and harmonious adjustment of human relations...In contrast, dogmatists (such as Communists or Fascists) reject this belief in reason and experience.[30]

At the same time lip service is given to the need for a free discussion of issues in social studies:

> In trying to present a fair and balanced picture of American democracy, we have not sought to avoid controversial issues. The United States owes its existence to controversy and conflict, and throughout its history, as today, there has never been a dearth of highly controversial questions.[31]

I know of no textbook presently in use in a large public school system that focuses upon the multi-logical issues of Social Studies or highlights the importance of strong sense critical thinking skills. Monological thinking that presupposes an "American" world view is clearly dominant. At the same time students do not recognize that they are learning, not to think, but to think like "Americans."

CONCLUDING REMARKS: THE CRITICAL TEACHER

To be in the best position to encourage critical thinking in her students, a teacher must first of all value it highly in her personal, social, and civic life. S/he must be, in short, a critical person, a

Person comfortable with and experienced in critical discussion, critical reflection, and critical inquiry. S/he must be willing to make questions rather than assertions the heart of his(er) contribution to student learning. S/he must explicitly understand hisj(er) own frame of reference and that fostered in the society at large. S/he must be willing to treat no idea as intrinsically good or bad, to have faith in reason, evidence, and open discussion. S/he must deeply value clarity, accuracy, and fair-mindedness and s/he must be willing to help students develop the various critical thinking microproficiencies in the context of these values and ideals. To do so, s/he must be a student of human irrationality, egocentricity, and prejudice. Her interest must be both theoretical and practical. She must experience (recognize) irrational drives and behavior in herself as well as others. S/he must be patient and capable of the long view, for people, schools, and society change only in the long run, never quickly, and always with some frustration, conflict, and misunderstanding

At present there is as little recognition that the critical teacher rare as that the bulk of the critical thinking cultivated in students to is, at best, monological and technical, and, at worst, sociocentric and sophistic. The concept of strong sense critical thinking skills--of what is to live, and if a teacher to teach, in a critical manner--has as yet erted little perceptible influence on schools as a whole. If in our haste bring critical thinking into the schools, we ignore the need to develop long-term strategies for nurturing the development of teachers' own critical powers and passions, then we shall truly make the new emphasis on critical thinking into nothing more than a passing fad, or worse, into a new, more sophisticated form of social indoctrination and scholastic closed-mindedness.

Richard W. Paul

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NOTES

1. John Passmore, "On Teaching to Be Critical," included in The Concept Education, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London: 1967, pp. 192-211.

2. For a sense of the dimensions in which critical thinking is called for, see the Phi Kappa Phi National Forum special issue on Critical Think edited by myself, and including articles by Neil Postman, Sabini and Silver, Matthew Lipman, Edward Glaser, Robert Ennis, Michael Scriven, Ernest Boyer and myself. Winter 1985.

   See also my "Critical Thinking: Fundamental to Education For a Free Society," Educational Leadership, September 1984; "Teaching Critical Thinking in the Strong Sense," Informal Logic, 1982, vol. 4, p. 3; "Bloom's Taxonomy and Critical Thinking Instruction," Educational Leadership, May 1985.

3. "Dialogical Thinking: Critical Thought Essential to the Acquisition Rational Knowledge and Passions," delivered at the Connecticut Thinking Skills Conference, March 11-13, 1985, forthcoming in Teaching Thinking Skills: Theory and Practice, W. H. Freeman & Company, New York, edited by Joan Baron and Robert J. Sternberg.

4. Robert Ennis heads the Illinois Critical Thinking Project, co-authored the Cornell Critical Thinking Tests, and has written many seminal articles on critical thinking, beginning with his "A Concept of Critical Thinking," Harvard Educational Review, 1962, vol. 32, no. 1, pp. 81-111.

5. Harvey Siegel has developed a number of ideas implicit in the writings of Israel Sheffler. Most important for critical thinking theory of Siegel's contribution is his "Critical Thinking as Educational Ideal," The Educational Forum, November 1980, pp. 7-23.

6. See Israel Sheffler's Reason and Teaching, Bobbs-Merrill, New York 1973; and Conditions of Knowledge, Scott Foresman and Company, Chicago: 1965.

7. See Scriven's "Critical For Survival" in the National Forum's special issue on critical thinking and his textbook, Reasoning, McGraw-Hill, Inc., New York: 1976.

8. Matthew Lipman has developed a multitude of innovative instruction strategies for bringing critical reflection into classroom discussion third through twelfth grades, in the process of creating the Philosophy for Children Program.

9. See R. S. Peters' Reason and Compassion, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London: 1973.

10. Passmore, op. cit.

11. Edward Glaser is one of the founding fathers of the critical thinking movement in the United States. Its early stirrings can be traced back to his An Experiment in the Development of Critical Thinking (1941) and his development with Watson of the Watson-Glaser Critical Thinking Test (1940).

12. Ralph Johnson and J. Anthony Blair have been the major Canadian leaders
& in the Informal Logic/Critical Thinking movement. They have organized
13. two major international conferences at the University of Windsor, have written many important papers in the field, edit Informal Logic (the major journal for those working on the theory of critical thinking) have written an excellent text, Logical Self-Defense, McGraw-Hill, Toronto: 1977.

14. Ennis, "Critical Thinking," a handout developed in July 1985, Illinois

Critical Thinking Project, University of Illinois/Champaign.

15. "Critical Thinking as Educational Ideal," op. cit., p. 11.

16. Reasoning, op. cit., p. ix.

17. "Critical For Survival," op. cit., p. 9.

18. Ibid.

19. Reason and Compassion, op. cit., p. 79.

20. Op. cit., p. 198.

21. Piaget, Judgment and Reasoning in the Child, Littlefield, Adams, and Company, Totowa: 1976. Compare R. S. Peters: "The connection of being unreasonable with egocentricity is obvious enough. There is lacking even the stability in behavior which comes from acting in the light established beliefs and practices. Beliefs tend to be infected with arbitrariness and particularity. Little attempt is made to fit them into a coherent system. A behavior is governed largely by wants and aversions of an immediate, short-term character. Little account is taken of the viewpoint or claims of others. Indeed, the behavior of others is seen largely in a self-referential way as it impinges on, threatens or thwarts the demands of the greedy, restless ego...," op. cit., p. 97.

22. Piaget, from "The Development in Children of the Idea of the Homeland and of Relations with Other Countries," The International Social Science Bulletin, vol. III, no. 3, 1951, pp. 561-578.

23. William Graham Sumner, Folkways, originally 1906, re-issued by Dover Publications, New York: 1959, p. 633.

24. See Karl Mannheim's magnificent classic Ideology and Utopia, a seminal work whose contribution to theory of critical thinking has yet to be absorbed.

25. Ibid., Louis Worth in his preface to Mannheim's Ideology and Utopia.

26. Commager, The Atlantic, March 1982.

27. Toynbee, America and the World Revolution, Oxford University Press, New York and London: 1962, p. 92.

28. Eberstein, Pritchett, Turner and Mann, American Democracy in World Perspective, Harper and Row, New York: 1967, all quotes pp. 3-5.

29. Op. cit., chart printed on inside covers.

30. Op. cit., p. 5.

31. Ibid.